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NEW YORK EDITION

FREEDOMS

Threat to deport Belfrage made by Velde inquisitors

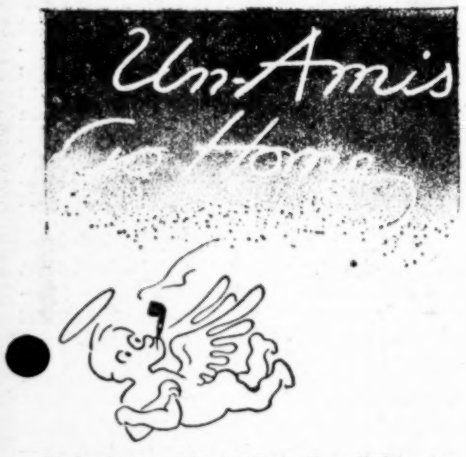
By Elmer Bendiner

"These Congressional inquisitors are not attacking the N. Y. Times *or the* Herald Tribune. *They are going after individual newspaper men here and there, on one pretext or another. But they are establishing a precedent. They are getting us accustomed to the idea of investigating the press as they have already accustomed us to investigation of our educational institutions, as they may soon accustom us to investigation of our churches."*

Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D-N. Y.), at the Dem. Party State Comm. dinner, April 29, 1953.

SIX days after Sen. Lehman's grim warning, the House Committee on Un-American Activities in a courtroom on the 11th floor of New York's Federal Bldg. in Foley Sq. brought to the stand GUARDIAN's editor Cedric Belfrage.

In an arena lit by blazing TV klieg lights and bursts of press-camera flashbulbs, Belfrage—as other witnesses had done—asked that the lights be turned off. Committee chairman Harold R. Velde (R-Ill.) bargained:



> "Will you answer all our questions? We will turn off the lights if you will be cooperative and answer all the questions."

Belfrage said that depended what the questions were; with obvious reluctance Velde ordered the glaring lights taken off him. On that note began the committee's assault on Belfrage and the opposition press.

"SINISTER EFFECT": Chairman Velde had made his aim clear more than a year before when he told Congress:

> "I have asked that Cedric Belfrage be subpenaed to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities and I guarantee we will try to find out just what goes with the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. . . . I cannot overemphasize the sinister effect on Americanism that Cedric Belfrage and his communist-inspired propaganda machine promotes."

With the aims of the inquiry clearly outlined and the GUARDIAN already branded by the committee, Belfrage said that though he preferred to stand on the 1st amendment to the Constitution (free press) he had no choice but to invoke the 5th Amendment (guaranteeing the right to refuse to testify against himself)—"the shield of innocence. . . . It is this innocence that I seek to protect."

PRESS FREEDOM AT STAKE: Quietly Belfrage quoted Velde to the committee, then said:

> "You and others make it apparent that I have been summoned here to abridge the freedom of the press, to abridge the freedom of the GUARDIAN. . . . I have no confidence in this committee and I believe, on its past record, that whatever answers I give would be used to crucify me and other innocent persons."

Committee counsel Robert L. Kunzig ploughed doggedly for over an hour through the Belfrage dossier consisting of items any researcher could find in a good public library. He made much of Belfrage's non-citizen status (he is British). When Belfrage declined to answer questions on his citizenship, Rep. Doyle (R-Cal.) interrupted with a long and bitter denunciation of Belfrage for living, working and "prospering" here yet never seeking citizenship. When he was through, Belfrage, reconsidering his 5th amendment declination, said simply:

> "I applied for citizenship in 1937."

DOSSIER OF CRIME: Doyle subsided; counsel again picked up the dossier. He read at length from professional informer Elizabeth Bentley's book, **Out of Bondage,** asked Belfrage to confirm all Bentley said about him. (she called him a "Soviet courier"). Editor Belfrage commented dryly:

> "Mr. Chairman, that is a very colorful passage. . . . But I am flabbergasted by it. Where I have no due process of law it would be grotesque for me to answer questions relating to gossip."

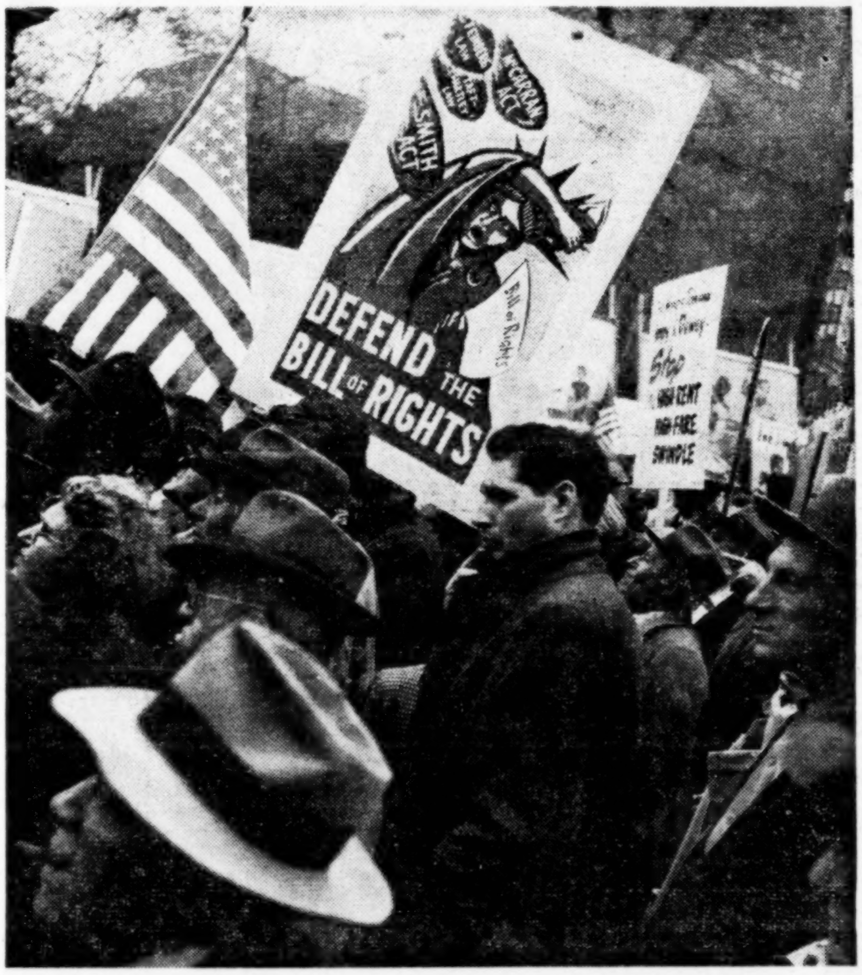
Then counsel produced photostats of newspapers purportedly proving these charges against Belfrage: working as a SHAEF officer under Eisenhower in 1945, he had been assigned to de-Nazify German newspaper staffs, and had done so; he appealed for lifting the arms embargo against the Spanish gov-

(Continued on Page 7)

Guardian photo by Bernard

GUARDIAN'S EDITOR GETS AN ESCORT TO FEDERAL COURTHOUSE

L. to r.: Executive editor James Aronson, editor Cedric Belfrage and general manager John T. McManus



THE SLOGAN WAS: COURAGE IS CONTAGIOUS

New York last week saw three big rallies: May Day in Union Square (p. 5), the Rosenberg demonstration on Randall's Island (p. 6), and the Guardian Free Press rally at Palm Garden (p. 2). The photo above, taken in Union Square, symbolized the spirit of all three meetings.

WAR & PEACE

U. S. bullheadedness blocks truce in Korea; angry allies are restless

THE COURSE of the Panmunjom truce talks and Washington's reaction to continuing Soviet peace moves demonstrated again what Walter Millis pointed out (N. Y. **Herald Tribune,** 3/2) — that "the U. S. has nothing to trade, no appeasements to offer, no concessions to make." Its policy remains "unconditional surrender," as Walter Lippmann suggested (4/28).

The slowness of the American people to demand real peace in Korea, negotiations instead of unconditional surrender, made the threat of spreading war a grim reality.

The dangerous and bankrupt course of Washington's policy was shown last week in:

- The obtuse arrogance of senior U. S. negotiator Gen. William Harrison at Panmunjom, which threatened to disrupt the truce talks; and the build-up in Washington for intervention in Indo-China.
- Washington's attempt to write off Soviet proposals for "business-like discussions" of concrete issues as "mere propaganda," while speeding efforts to fit NATO into its atomic war strategy, rearm Germany, tighten its trade embargo against the socialist world.
- The decision to continue war spending at this year's record level, while projecting goals of still tentative cuts of some $8.5 billion in fiscal '54.

The truce talks

The U. S. threatened to break off the talks again unless there was complete capitulation to U. S. plans to keep 50,000 Chinese and N. Korean POW's in S. Korea. The U. S.'s "voluntary repatriation" fraud has been exposed in **Koje Unscreened,** by Alan Winnington and Winston Burchett, published in Peking. These correspondents with the N. Korean and Chinese forces in Korea have documented — from interviews with Canadian guards who served at Koje for six weeks (May-June, 1952); with escaped prisoners; from bulletins of the pro-American Intl. Committee of the Red Cross, and even official U. S. figures and statements—the torture and brutalities used to force prisoners to declare against repatriation.

2 POINTED QUESTIONS: The U. S.'s clear determination to maintain this position explains Chinese-Korean insistence on actual transfer of POW's who "won't go home" to the neutral state named as supervisor. China and N. Korea said they would pay all expenses of the transfer. Korean Gen. Nam Il said in answer to U. S. demands that the prisoners re-

(Continued on Page 4)

Have YOU pledged?

JOIN THE GUARDIAN'S
"BUCK-OF-THE-MONTH"
SUSTAINING FUND FOR 1953

I pledge ☐ $1 every month for the rest of 1953.
☐ $. . . .

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY.............................. ZONE...... STATE............

The GUARDIAN will send you a monthly reminder and a postage-paid reply envelope for your convenience.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

REPORT TO READERS

Paradise calling

This letter, from a dear old friend, came in last week with this note attached: "I'm writing this in the hope that it may help wake the GUARDIAN readers and get them to realize what it would mean to lose our fine paper. Those who can afford to, and have not sent in their pledges—I could shake any one of them till their teeth rattle." Being unalterably opposed to rattling teeth, we took a deep breath and decided to print the letter. Ed.

PARADISE, CALIF.

Ever since reading in the April 13 GUARDIAN that fewer than 3% of readers have responded to pledge request, I have by turns been amazed, bewildered, discouraged, and now I'm just plain angry.

The very idea that the readers of GUARDIAN would let such a vitally necessary paper go out of existence for the want of a few dollars each month is beyond my understanding.

What is the matter with the GUARDIAN readers? Don't they realize that they are "fiddling while Rome burns?" If the GUARDIAN goes out of existence the voice of progressive-thinking people is silenced. Silence means acquiescence and indifference to the war and its slaughter and destruction; submission to the witch-hunting and loyalty oath; the complete destruction of our Bill of Rights. There would be no GUARDIAN to tell us the truth about the Rosenbergs, the Trenton Six, and many others who have been and may be the victims of the drive toward fascism.

We would miss all the wonderful letters in the Mail Bag which give us the feeling that we are not alone, but have many, many friends all over the world who think as we do and understand what we are working for. The "GI in Korea" who says he receives the GUARDIAN and "it is really a morale-booster." Can we let him down?

The GUARDIAN is the only nationally-circulated newspaper that speaks for the people who believe in justice, equality, peace and the brotherhood of man.

The GUARDIAN is not just another newspaper. It is our paper, our voice, and with it goes our chance to be heard and to hear the truth. This must not happen. To the readers I would say:

Ask not for whom the bell tolls,
It tolls for thee.

This must not happen. Come on, GUARDIAN readers, let's get busy.

Mrs. C. B. S.

THE MAIL BAG
USM

Just add ". . . ian"

YORK, PA.

This is the week our mayor proclaimed as "National Guard Week." This is the week I am proclaiming as National Guardian Week by pledging to give $2 each month for 10 months to the Guardian Sustaining Fund. **Paul H. Miller**

In Italy they know

ROME, ITALY

Nell Cattonar was here from Trieste this past week-end to attend the Natl. Women's Congress of the Union of Italian Women, and to speak on the Rosenbergs. We don't intend to stop until the threat of the electric chair no longer hangs over their heads.

As is the custom here, many gifts were brought to the Congress. One big box contained a gift for the Rosenberg children. There are not many women in Italy, by this time, who don't recognize their faces when they see their photographs and who don't know their first names.

The delegates went home with renewed determination to do everything possible to retain their civil liberties (threatened by the new election law, and projected anti-strike and other laws which the Christian Democrats would like to push through in the next parliament), to commute the Rosenberg death sentence, and, first and foremost, to protect the peace.

Present at the Congress was a little peasant woman all dressed in black, whose husband had been killed two years ago at an occupation of the land movement in her home town. All he and the other peasants had wanted was to hoe and plant the land which had been left uncultivated by absentee owners for many years—and then they say that Italy doesn't produce enough food for its population! But land continues to be occupied here and there, all over Italy. People whose children are hungry don't frighten easily. **Beatrice Pini**

For Jordan's freedom

THE DALLES, ORE.

Ted Jordan is still an inmate of the Oregon State Penitentiary. However, the Prisoners' Relief Committee of the Civil Rights Congress, in Seattle, is now conducting a mass campaign to secure Ted's release.

I ask all my fellow progressives to write to Gov. Paul Patterson, Salem, Ore., asking him to commute Ted's sentence to time served. **Ruth Stovall**

So he did

NEWTON, MASS.

I came home to lunch. My wife asks, "How much do you pay for the GUARDIAN?"

"$2 a year," I answered.

"You don't pay enough. It's worth a lot more."

"Dave," she says, "send more money, and tell them to send us 5 papers for each dollar with the story about 'Why the Soviet People Wept for Stalin.'"

So here you are. **Dave**

The Buying Service

ST. PAUL, MINN.

I was delighted by your overwhelming display of fine items at discount prices. I believe that in addition to the wonderful service you offer readers in supplying them with the truth, you are now adding to your value by helping your readers save money.

My family needs many of the items you offer and we have a few gifts to give this month. Herewith is my initial order for a Camfield toaster, two Cannon percale sheets and a Parker "21" pen.

I urge all your readers to support Guardian Buying Service — and with the money they save donate to progressive causes like the Guardian Pledge Campaign and the Rosenberg Committtee.

Elias Goldshmitt

Ike and Hindenburg

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Inadvertently, a key paragraph was dropped at the very end of my article in last week's GUARDIAN which altered the meaning. The paragraph was:

"In his first 100 days the President, whose role a N. Y. Post correspondent (4/5) compared to that of Hindenburg in Germany in 1932, has consistently yielded to the GOP's right wing. Its advocacy of atomic war coincides with the atomic strategy now adopted in the Pentagon. Yet the people can still generate the pressures which will compel settlement based on negotiation." **Tabitha Petran**

The vanishing storms

BRISBANE, CALIF.

At 11:45 p.m. April 20 CBS radio quoted a Mexican paper (didn't catch the name) as complaining of what it called several "atomic storms" in northern Mexico following each of the recent atomic explosions in Nevada. These storms lasted several days or even a week; some planes had had to be grounded.

The news promptly disappeared: no mention of it in the KGO news broadcast *immediately following, nor in the San Francisco Chronicle nor the S. F. edition of the Wall St. Journal. **Louise Harding Horr**

He will teach again

NEW YORK, N. Y.

PROFESSOR BURGUM

(Dismissed from New York University for refusal to cooperate with McCarthyism)

For twenty-eight years
I taught in the halls of learning
The fine phrase
Discerning
And to the eager sea
That lifted up its face to me
I gave what life and art
Had joined to make my gift
A part
Of everyman
Who from the old world
Through the new
Strives in hope or sorrow
To distill
The will of order
In disordered times.
Mr. McCarthy
I come of a long-lived stock
Concord reared me on her native rock
I have many years
To write, to teach
To reach, to learn
And still to turn
What I have learned
To be a part
Of everyman.

Mildred Burgum

How crazy can you get dept.

". . . these records and names should be immediately made available to the Federal Bureau of Investigation . . . the order terminating the activities of the Bail Fund and providing for its liquidation insures the confidential nature of the records in all other respects."

—From the Annual Report of Nathaniel L. Goldstein, Attorney General of the State of New York, in discussing his actions regarding those persons who had loaned money to the Civil Rights Congress Bail Fund.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Mark Lane, New York City.

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An Editor's Creed

On Sunday night May 4, on the eve of the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in New York, the GUARDIAN held a Freedom of the Press Rally in Manhattan's Palm Garden. More than 1,000 persons came in a show of magnificent resistance to the witch-hunt and to pay tribute to the principal speaker, the GUARDIAN's editor Cedric Belfrage. Excerpts of his address follow:

HOW MUCH is left of the freedom of the press in America except the freedom to hate and inspire and spread hatred?

Who is left in the field of public information that cares about the truth—not about what it is expedient to publish, but primarily about what is true? Granted that the truth is hard to find and cannot be unerringly spotted overnight; granted that a paper like NATIONAL GUARDIAN cannot always be certain of finding it; I ask, how are the American people ever to find the truth if they are unable even to see and know the opposition point of view? How can they ever see that their government is run with the slightest measure of sanity if the very road to truth is barred to them?

• • •

MR. VELDE says I am "apparently under the delusion" that my association with the GUARDIAN "places me in the category of being a member of the press." The technique of tearing up the First Amendment, you see, is perfectly simple. If you [illegible] not like a certain publication and want to suppress it, as [illegible] First Amendment says you may not do in America, you just announce that it is not a publication.

The same will presumably apply when Mr. Velde gets on to his program—likewise forever proscribed by the Constitution—of prohibiting the free exercise of establishments of religion. Does this or that church or this or that minister offend you? Elementary, my dear Watson. It is not a church, he is not a minister.

• • •

AS WE SAY in the GUARDIAN—how crazy can you get? The answer as we see it today is not as funny as it might be under different circumstances. It is not as funny as it would be if the government for which we all pay were not using our money to encircle the socialist half of humanity with airbases, in open preparation to wipe out as many as possible of the billion human beings who have tried to analyze the economic reality of our mechanized world, and to reconstruct that economy on what looks to them like a sane basis for the greatest good of the greater number.

A program like this requires nothing less than open proclamation to Americans, who must pay the bill, that to try to be logical is to be crazy; that to try to be moral is to be crazy; in short, that sanity equals insanity.

That is where we are as of this moment, as we try to picture what is being undergone in the Valley Forge Army Hospital by the first batch of freed American prisoners of war who—having been exposed to the facts about this attempt to reconstruct the economic basis of society for the greatest good of the greatest number—may have felt that it made sense.

In the prisoner camps in North Korea these Americans have been "brain-washed" free of hate: hate has been replaced in their minds with a warm and constructive spirit of cooperation. But in the midst of violent propaganda here to stir up still more hate by atrocity stories, these young men are described as "victims of Communist propaganda"— that is, the Washington authorities are complaining not that they were treated too badly, but that they were treated too well. It is all perfectly logical if you accept—and you must accept it to be "respectable" in this dismal ti[illegible]—that everything the socialist nations do must ipso facto [illegible] evil; and if you do not even try to find out whether there might not also be something good about the way of life they have chosen.

• • •

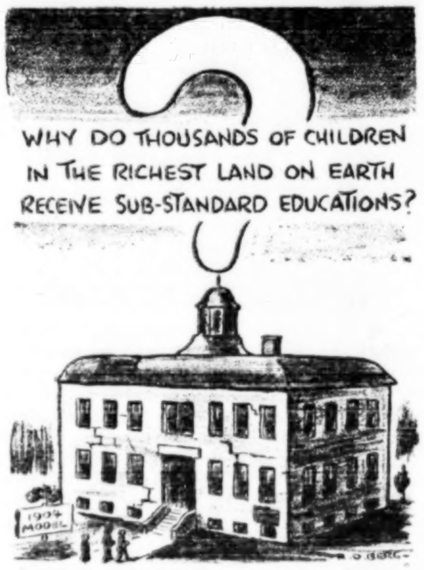
LET US FACE the fact squarely: the stage we have reached is the stage of total humbug; and all of us in this hall tonight—and I think we have many different points of view about what is necessary to reconstruct society for general betterment—are stark, staring mad. For we all believe, or we would not be here, that human beings are essentially intelligent and moral enough to do better with their social organization than America is now doing; and we all believe, I think, that without full and free access by the people to the facts, this betterment is not possible in a democratic society. We all agree that if such betterment is ever to happen, preservation of the First Amendment must be the cornerstone of it.

THE GREAT AMERICAN PLUNDER—II

In peril: Our schools, health, resources

By Lawrence Emery

ON April 22, Dr. Earl J. McGrath, U.S. Education Commissioner—a post now included in the Health, Education & Welfare Dept. headed by Mrs. Oveta Hobby—was supposed to appear before a Senate commitee to discuss a proposed $88,976,370 budget for his office; the sum is $193,636,891 less than last year's budget. Instead, McGrath personally delivered his letter of resignation at the door of the White House, distributed copies of it to the press, then went home. He could not, he told the President, "defend a budget which I consider indefensible." Cuts already made, he added, "are making it impossible for anybody to serve education through this office."


WHY DO THOUSANDS OF CHILDREN IN THE RICHEST LAND ON EARTH RECEIVE SUB-STANDARD EDUCATIONS?
1904 MODEL

Let those who block public school funds answer!
Church and State, Wash., D.C.

JACKPOT FOR AMA: The other two divisions of the Hobby department—health and welfare— were in for the same treatment. Last March President Eisenhower told the American Medical Assn.—violently fighting federal health insurance—that he is opposed to words like "socialized" and "compulsory" as applied to medicine, promised a hands-off policy. "Hands-off" was translated in action by giving the AMA "veto" power over all government activities in the health field.

On April 27 Mrs. Hobby made public her budget requests; the total figure was a cut of more than $40,000,000 below the current budget, $62,784,000 below that recommended by former President Truman. Mrs. Hobby told reporters that to her, defense comes first, welfare second. She described her philosophy:

> "I take as a guide line, to promote the general welfare rather than to provide for the general welfare."

Biggest cuts, besides in education, were in the Public Health Service, hospital construction, medical research, the Food & Drug Administration, and the Children's Bureau. She indicated that an Eisenhower campaign promise to extend social security to millions not now covered is not likely to be fulfilled. (On the same day Sen. J. Allen Frear Jr. (D-Del.) introduced a bill to end the Federal Old Age and Survivors Insurance system and transfer its funds to the states for local operation.)

NO MORE HOUSING: The same was happening to most other social gains made in the last 20 years. On April 22 the House acted to kill the entire public housing program by adopting an appropriations bill which specifically bars the Housing Administration from sponsoring new construction. During the campaign Eisenhower spoke for retention of the 1953 35,000-unit token program as a "moral obligation," then he appointed Housing & Home Finance administrator Albert M. Cole, whose record as a foe of public housing prompted Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.) to say it was "like putting the fox in charge of the hen house." During House debate on the bill, Appropriations Committeeman Norris Cotton (R-N.H.) said:

> "I haven't been able to find one single word to show he [the President] values this socialistic experiment highly."

Of Cole's recommendation before the committee that the 35,000-unit program be retained this year, Cotton commented that he just "went through the motions." Speaking for himself, Cotton called the housing program a "monstrous, un-American, un-economic, socialistic experiment."

Next day the House by 187-66 standing vote made the end of rent controls mandatory by Aug. 1. On April 25 the Senate adopted an identical bill. The President has made it clear he will sign it. During debate House leaders emphasized that this is absolutely the last extension, and that the White House concurs. Some 4,300,000 dwellings in 1,400 communities are affected.

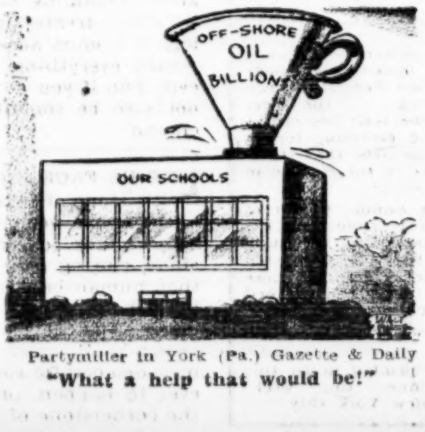
PUBLIC BE DAMNED: Crippling or full destruction of the conservation, reclamation and public power programs came next. On April 23 the House Appropriations Committee proposed an Interior Dept. budget of $404,363,239—$202,473,161 less than was proposed by Truman, $80,000,000 less than proposed by Eisenhower after a "re-survey." Biggest cuts are in the public low-cost power field: both the Southeastern and Southwestern Power Administrations were cut off without a cent for new construction; outlays for the Bonneville Power Administration in Oregon were cut in half. The committee stated a new policy of providing funds only for functions "which private enterprise cannot or will not undertake":

> "Where private enterprise is unable to completely develop resources without assistance there should be a working partnership between the federal government and private interests. . . . Wherever possible, private enterprise shall be taken into partnership to build, own and operate that part of each project that can be handled by private ownership. . . . In all future projects or new starts, which include transmission lines, private enterprise shall be urged to take the initiative in constructing, owning and operating such works before money is made available for federal construction."

To the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** (4/24), the new policy is "the death knell of the nation's public power program."

On April 28 the House adopted the proposed budget; also suffering heavy slashes were rural electrification, emergency flood control, soil reclamation, public lands, aid to American Indians, and fish and wildlife conservation.

WINNER TAKE ALL: In all agencies of the government's executive branch the Republicans were playing by the rule, "Winner take all." Competent career men with up to 40 years in government service were being ousted in favor of political friends or in payment of political debts; regulatory agencies were being handed to representatives of industries they are supposed to regulate.



Partymiller in York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily
"What a help that would be!"

A typical case is Interior Secy. Douglas McKay's replacement of Albert M. Day—a career man who rose through the ranks to become U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service director—by John L. Farley, press-agent for a huge West Coast paper company. Farley is a close associate of Washington's Gov. Arthur B. Langlie who seconded Eisenhower's Presidential nomination.

Day's dismissal was protested by the Emergency Comm. on Natural Resources which unites 37 national conservation organizations; on April 28 a committee delegation called on Eisenhower to tell him that career men should not be removed for political reasons.

FREEDOM FOR FRAUD: Big Business was also taking over the Bureau of Standards, which for decades has protected the public against false advertising claims and worthless or dangerous products. When Commerce Secy. Sinclair Weeks (who raised cash for the Eisenhower campaign) fired bureau director Allen Astin, such a storm broke that Weeks agreed to keep him until "experts" can survey the bureau's operations; but the survey would have no bearing on the long-run status of Astin, whom Weeks accused of lacking the "business man's point of view."

Tidelands grab OK'd

The Senate on May 5 adopted, 56 to 35, a bill granting three coastal states title to oil and other deposits in offshore lands extending as far as 10½ miles to sea and worth up to $300,000,000,000. Opponents label it the greatest steal of natural resources in all history and warn that it opens the way to similar grabs of other national property. Senate debate on the bill was one of the longest in Congressional history.

The Supreme Court has three times ruled that offshore lands belong to the nation as a whole; former President Truman twice vetoed similar bills.

President Eisenhower won huge blocs of Democratic votes in Florida, Louisiana, Texas and California by his pre-election pledge to support state claims; at one point he confessed he didn't even know of Supreme Court rulings on the issue.

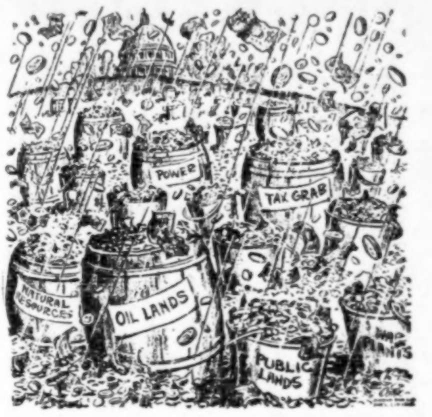
Legal challenge of the give-away by inland states is expected to take years before a final court decision is handed down.

Recently a letter from Weeks to Defense Secy. Wilson produced an order from the latter that no further research projects be placed with the Bureau or other government agencies without his specific approval. (The bulk of the Bureau's work is in defense research.) The **Washington Post** on April 24 reported:

> While no official explanation was available as to the probable effect of the order, it is being widely interpreted at the Pentagon as being aimed at cutting down the Bureau and shifting at least some of its defense research to private industry.

The study of the Bureau got under way April 29 by a committee of nine non-government, top-ranking scientists. A day earlier the Natl. Academy of Sciences voted full support for the retention of Astin; on May 2 the Fedn. of American Scientists asked Eisenhower to "clarify" his government's relation to science, expressed "considerable confusion and apprehension" over Astin's firing and proposed cuts in science research funds.

LEWIS SQUARES OFF: A big fight was brewing over McKay's appointment as Bureau of Mines Director of Tom Lyon, a Salt Lake City mining engineer who, when he retired, was asst. to the gen. manager of a subsidiary of the bitterly anti-labor Anaconda Copper Co. He replaces John J. Forbes, former coal-miner whose grandfather and father both worked in the mines—a government servant for 40 years and a top expert on mine safety.



TWU Express
"April showers bring — ?"

United Mine Workers pres. John L. Lewis has protested the appointment on the ground that Lyon lacks coal-mining experience and is sponsored by anti-labor groups in the industry. To Lewis the issue is one of "the lives of coal miners versus political jobs." On April 28 the independent Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union said:

> "This appointment is exactly the same as if the President of the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers were made Secy. of Labor. Lyon is a company man—morning, noon and night. He has been a company man all his life. . . . With Lyon in this job we expect the accident, death and dismemberment rates to go up sharply in the non-ferrous metal mining industry."

STRIPED PANTS' FIELD-DAY: To head the Federal Trade Commission Eisenhower has named Edward F. Howrey, who for some 24 years has defended large corporations before FTC against charges of trifling with the anti-trust laws. One of Howrey's law partners was an early Eisenhower campaigner who worked with Arthur Summerfield, now Postmaster General; the Howrey partner is now acting as exec. director of the Republican Natl. Committee.

The President has named Jerome K. Kuykendall, chairman of the Washington State Public Service Commission, whose record is one of granting rate hikes and favorable tax rulings to private power companies, as head of the Federal Power commission. For asst. budget director the President has picked Roland R. Hughes, vice-pres of the huge Natl. City Bank of New York and chairman of the American Bankers' Assn. Committee on the Excess Profits Tax.

JOLLY GOOD FELLOWS: On April 29 Eisenhower spoke before the 41st annual meeting of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce permitting it, as the Washington **Post** reported, to end on "a note of friendly accord with his Administration":

> In three days they heard many expressions from the President's top aides sounding the theme of new government friendliness for business. They reciprocated by shaping their new policy declarations at many key points to the policy lines charted by Mr. Eisenhower.

On May 1 there was a new indication of the meaning of the new government-business accord; after conferences between the Dept. of Agriculture, the new Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare and representatives of the grain growing and processing industry, it was announced that a recently inaugurated program of government condemnation and seizure of grain because of rodent and insect infestation is suspended. Americans can now inspect their own bread and breakfast foods for rats, mice and weevils.

U.S. bullheadedness blocks Korea truce

(Continued from Page 1)

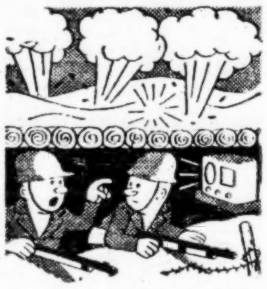
main in Korea:

> "How could military control of the detaining side concretely be thoroughly removed so as to free the POW's completely from the influence of the detaining side? How could it be possible at the same time to enable the neutral nation to effectively take charge of such POW's and maintain order at locations where they will be accommodated?"

Gen. Harrison said flatly that no Asian nation would be acceptable as supervisor since these nations

> . . . are located very close to countries dominated by Communists and might therefore be subjected to Communist military, economic or political influence.

This constituted "sabotage of the negotiations" (**New Statesman & Nation**, 5/2) and "an open insult to Asian nations" (Peking radio). Worldwide repercussions forced the State Dept. to eat Harrison's words. Harrison himself then proposed Pakistan (where a strongly pro-American government recently came to power).



Carrefour, Paris

"Turn up the radio—I think they're talking about peace."

SELF-DECEPTION: Angry threats of heavier bombing of Pyongyang by 5th Air Force Commander Gen. Barcus, if it continued its "insulting propaganda"; Gen. Clark's $100,000 bribe offer to Korean and Chinese pilots for a delivered MIG; the U.S. military's desire to apply more "military pressure" (**U.S. News**, 5/8); efforts to maintain the thoroughly discredited POW atrocity propaganda—all these revealed Washington's growing self-deception in regarding the socialist world's peace moves as signs of weakness.

The actions, while they failed to produce much protest from the American people, provoked a storm in allied nations — particularly Britain. The London **Times** (5/1) called Clark's MIG offer "repugnant, stupid." In the House of Lords, Lord Chorley asked the government to disassociate itself from this "dastardly proposal."

THE "ATROCITIES": British opinion was even more outraged by what Labour MP Tom Driberg called (**Reynolds News**, 4/26) "the disgusting attempts in America to create atrocity propaganda." British correspondents in Korea and returned British POW's denied atrocity stories. **Reuters** (4/26) said six days of interviews with returned prisoners "disclosed few, if any, atrocities by Communist forces." **Sunday Pictorial** correspondent John Walters said (4/26) he had started a week of interviews at Freedom Village "with the preconceived belief that the Chinese Communists were fiendishly cruel to their captives," only to find American POW atrocity tales unconvincing. Checking with other Western correspondents, he found they

> . . . agreed there was no convincing evidence of atrocities. . . . Each felt as I did about these talks. Yet I learn such stories are being played up in some American newspapers.

How some of the "atrocity tales" were fabricated was unwittingly revealed in a **U.S. News** report (5/8) from Panmunjom titled "Prisoners Brain Washed." It said:

> A few of the American returnees are stupid. One, under the drumfire of questioning of correspondents, finally gave in and said weakly: "Well, if you say there were atrocities, there must have been some."

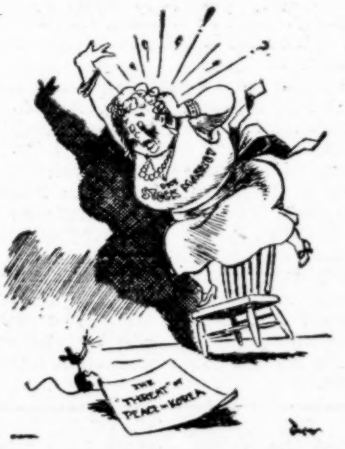
Returned British POW's (**NYT** from London, 5/2)

> . . . scoffed at the suggestions of bad treatment or atrocities, either on their way to or in prison camps. All paid tribute to their captors' treatment and the food and conditions.

BRITISH ALTERNATIVES: Demands "by no means confined to Labourite ranks" (**NYT**, 5/3) were growing for direct British representation at the talks, the "sacking" of U.S. negotiators and their replacement by civilians (Aneurin Bevan), but were bluntly rejected by Churchill. In a Plea to Americans (**Nation**, 4/18) Bevan voiced the British people's increasing demand for an alternative to unconditional surrender:

> . . . a necessary condition for consolidation of peace in the Far East is the immediate disbanding of Chiang Kai-shek's army on Formosa. As for Formosa itself, return it to the Chinese government to whom it belongs.

Reminding Americans who claim China cannot be recognized because it was established "irregularly" and with "outside intervention" that "the U.S. was itself established very irregularly and with considerable help from the outside," he asserted that people must be allowed to change their governments and that "if no democracy exists by which the change can be made . . . you have no moral case against violence. . . . Will anyone tell me on what moral grounds you can condemn violence if you deny people liberty?"



Seattle Times

"How silly can she be?"

War in Indo-China —here are the facts

WHILE the popular forces of the Vietminh (controlling most of Vietnam, recognized in effect by France as its government seven years ago) advanced swiftly through the neighboring Indo-China state of Laos, Americans continued to get from their press an almost totally distorted picture of that struggle.

The only part of the picture that corresponded in any measure with reality, as admitted by almost every French newspaper, was that military prospects for "defense" of Laos by the white "free world" were gloomy. Warning of possible "loss" of all southeast Asia to southeast Asians, Secy. Dulles was reported ready to give France still more NATO aid if it would "drop everything," divert all available troops to Indo-China—"the world's most dangerous spot" to which more U.S. war supplies including about 30 military cargo planes were being rushed.

HEAVY SUGAR: French appraisals of the situation were too critical and explosive to be printable by U.S. papers struggling to sell their readers another colonial-type war. Commentators in Paris waxed caustic about the huge profits being made from "exchange operations, supplies to the expeditionary force and war damages" by groups in Paris who "have found in the war [their] main source of revenues running into several billions." Calling these groups and the French army brass "the real power in Indo-China," top political columnist J. J. Servan-Schreiber wrote in **Le Monde** (4/30) concerning the recent report of a four-man parliamentary commission on Indo-China:

> . . . The truth is probably much worse than the most skeptical among us could have conceived. . . . The natural tendency of the military proconsulate to perpetuate itself, and the desire of the beneficiaries to maintain their profits, imply the permanence of the war. . . . The combined interests [have aimed] to prevent as far as possible the real Vietnam nationalists from particippating in power, since these maintain permanent contact with Ho Chi Minh [Vietminh leader] and are determined to create conditions for negotiations with him. These nationalists have been kept out in the cold [by] holding up as an ally or dupe of the Communists any person who suggests this idea [of negotiation].

VILLAS & VOTES: Spelling out the exchange racket, the London **New Statesman & Nation**'s Paris correspondent wrote (4/18) that France helped speculators and bought the loyalty of some Vietnamese by allowing them to buy piastres in Indo-China for 8 francs, sell them in Paris at the official rate of 17; France's puppet ruler Bao Dai made 176 million francs in 1949, bought a villa in Cannes and an estate in the Belgian Congo. In an interview in **Paris-Presse** last month, Gen. Revers acidly corroborated the figures.

Universal unpopularity of the Indo-China war was probably the main factor reflected in France's municipal election results: it strengthened the Communists while causing the De Gaullists, who support the war, to "lose disastrously" (Howard K. Smith, **CBS**, 5/3). With the CP emerging stronger than ever, **Combat** (anti-Communist Left) admitted "the working class continues to accord it [the CP] its entire confidence." **La Croix** (Catholic) called the CP gains

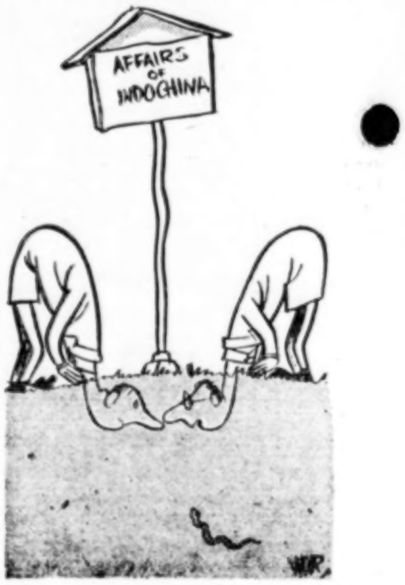
> . . . astonishing to those who think one can bar the road to Marxism by overwhelming it with hostile posters, more or less paid for by levies taken from what would be fair wages and prices. . . .

PLENTY OF NOTHING: Expressing the view of responsible conservative and business circles other than those getting the Indo-China war-profit plums, **Le Monde** political editor Jacques Fauvet wrote (4/24):

> [We have] no military policy [in Indo-China] since the means at our command's disposal . . . can neither stop the enemy's movements, nor pin down his forces, nor undertake diversionary operations . . . [Our] forces, which have good equipment and personnel, are held down in awe by an enemy who is at the same time nowhere and everywhere. . . . The government and the command at once appeal for foreign aid and fear it, [knowing] that China will take action even before U.S. troops could disembark at Haiphong.
>
> . . . Even less have [we] a peace policy. Without ever basically examining the problem, [we] have always refused to contemplate the eventuality of an armistice. We did not want it when we were strong; we cannot do it since we have become weak. . . . It is not certain any more that we would get any reply. . . .

TIN & SO FORTH: Laos—at the outskirts of whose capital Luang Prabang the Vietminh forces stood at GUARDIAN press time—has rich untapped deposits of tin, zinc, tungsten, iron ore and manganese. But U.S. interests in prolonging the war by all means possible were more than economic. **Liberation** (4/29) observed:

> One can understand Mr. J. F. Dulles. He wants through a diplomatic thunderclap to create the climate of tension that will make the U.S. Congress vote next month for his colossal war budget . . . [and] find a pretext for the hardening of U.S. attitude in Korea, although there is no connection whatever between these two wars and no Chinese or Korean is at war in Laos. He wants to broaden U.S. intervention in Indo-China, whether directly or through their vassals in Thailand or in Formosa. . . .



L'Aurore, Paris

"Ostrich policies? What ostrich policies?"

U.S. military circles and pundits were almost alone in their surprise at the ease with which Vietminh forces moved through Laos. To **Liberation** it merely confirmed "the sympathy with which they are welcomed by the population." Paul Rossel in **L'Observateur** (4/16) ascribed the successful advance

> . . . so late in the season, depending on very tenuous lines of communication and precarious supply routes, [to] a preparatory political and organizational job [which] has been done there; the points of supply lie not behind the army but in front of it. [The Laotian liberation] movement is directed by Prince Souphana Vuong who was an engineer in France . . . Laos' attempt to escape from French control does not date from today, and present events are only the sequel and perhaps the conclusion to a situation which has been ripening for a long time. . .
>
> It is up to the French authorities to sue for negotiations. What military disaster must happen before they decide?

NEXT STOP FOR GI's? While former French Premier Edgar Faure, a Radical Party leader, urged France to end the Indo-China war and promote a five-power peace conference including China (**NYT**, 5/4), Rep. Zablocki (D-Wis.) of the House Foreign Affairs Committee charged on the basis of his committee's recent Indo-China tour that the Administration had entered secret agreements which might involve U.S. troops there (**UP**, 4/27).

In the Senate, Leverett Saltonstall (R-Mass.) opposed sending U.S. troops to Laos; but House Armed Services Comm. chairman Dewey Short (R-Mo.) said the U.S. should hit the Communists "with everything we've got" if they seemed to be winning in southeast Asia.

Watching with foreboding U.S. determination to bolster French forces, the Indian government warned Britain and the West that "internationalization" of the Indo-China war would bring full-scale intervention by the Chinese, as in Korea. (India gave the same warning when U.S. forces crossed the 38th parallel in Korea and marched toward the Yalu river.)

De-brain-washing

TOKYO — (UP) — Americans freed from Korean prison camps are reading intensively to catch up with events in the outside world, volunteer hospital workers report.

The biggest demand is for comic books, they said.

—Chicago Daily News, April 23.

Like this week's GUARDIAN? Mail it to a friend. Use 2c stamp and an unsealed envelope.

NEW YORK EDITION

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 10 cents
the progressive newsweekly

Vol. 5, No. 29 NEW YORK, MAY 11, 1953

THE COURAGE WAS CONTAGIOUS

Teachers, writers and actors defy Velde witch-hunt here

By Elmer Bendiner

HOT, yellow newsreel lights blazed; press-camera bulbs flashed; photographers swarmed over tables; members the House Committee on Un-American Activities opened their deliberations in New York's Federal Court House. (Directors and prop men had been busy for an hour before curtain time: 10:30 a.m. last Monday.)

Reporters filled the jury box and spilled over into the public benches. The inquisition was already on when, seemingly as an afterthought, the public was admitted to whatever seats were left. (Many who had been waiting in line for hours failed to get in.)

Curtain raiser was Artie Shaw, 42-year-old band leader. All morning he sweated, explained, apologized for all he had stood for in other years. He said: "To the best of my knowledge I have never been a member of the Communist Party." He explained that he had attended four CP meetings, not as a member but out of curiosity. He found the CP advocating FEPC and price control which "seemed to me rather harmless."

LOST MEANINGS: Charged with membership or sponsorship of the World Peace Conference in 1949 and the Comm. for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, Shaw pleaded: "I joined organizations that had words like democracy and peace. I haven't joined any organization for three years now. I'm afraid to join any organization because I don't know what words mean anymore."

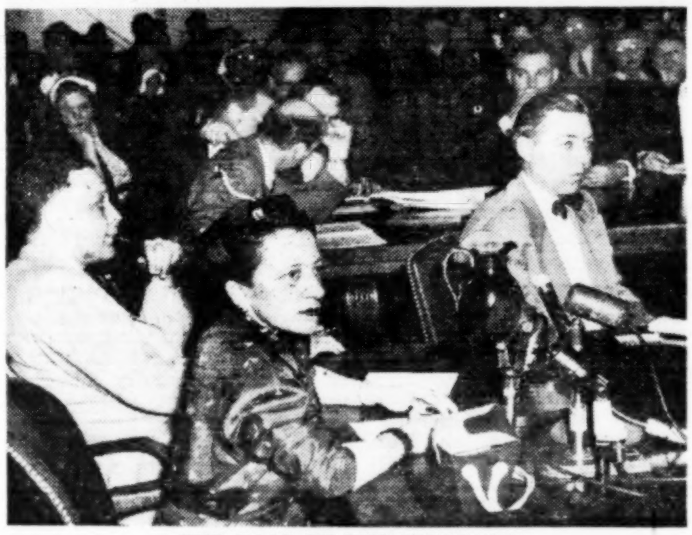
Later, committee member Clardy (R-Mich.) said: "Freedom and Democracy—their meaning has been pretty well destroyed."

Shaw promised: "I wouldn't sign anything today unless I had seven lawyers and the approval of this committee."

He told how he came to sponsor the 1949 World Peace Conference at New York's Waldorf-Astoria: "I want peace. I sincerely want peace. I was told that it was a Communist-inspired Congress. And I said, 'Well then, show me another peace congress. I want to join a Republican-sponsored peace congress.'"

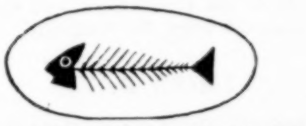
SAVED BY THE GAVEL: The audience burst into applause. Approval seemed certain damnation to Shaw. He put his hands to his head, said pleadingly to chairman Harold H. Velde (R-Ill.): "I wasn't playing to the gallery." Then he broke down and cried. Chairman Velde gaveled for order, called for a 10-minute recess and a merciful first act curtain.

Later Shaw thanked the committee for the subpena, agreed to name those he met at CP meetings (though he said he would not testify that they were Communists). The committee later said it had received the names in closed session. Then came the last turn of the screw for the willing witness. Rep. Clardy read from **Life** magazine a description of a "dupe" and asked Shaw to say whether or not it applied; he said it did. Rep. Doyle (R-Cal.) said many had declined to name people for fear of being called a stool-pigeon yet Shaw had not been dismayed by such a title. In a low voice Shaw said he had not. Shaw thanked the committee again and again for "clearing" him. He spoke too soon. The N.Y. **World-Telegram** led its story (5/4) this way: "Admitting that suspicion of him is justified, band leader Artie Shaw. . . ."



THE FACE OF THE INFORMER
Mrs. Dorothy Funn at the Velde Committee hearing

"A LITTLE LIST . . .": The afternoon's witness, Mrs. Dorothy K. Funn, teacher at P.S. 129, Bklyn., drearily read a list of names of people she swore were CP members. They included 22 teachers and ex-teachers in New York, 44 other persons in the Washington area. (She had been legislative representative of the National Negro Congress, 1943-1946.) She lifted the veil she wore and, looking about her, offered to identify communists she saw among the audience. TV lights blazed up, cameramen started whirling into action, but she was restrained by chairman Velde who observed that many she might identify had been subpenaed. The act was plainly not in the script.



Mrs. Funn seemed to be reading a part badly. In one breath she testified she had been sent to a CP state training school "because I am a Negro though later it turned out they didn't know I was a Negro."

Rep. Scherer (R-Ohio) asked: "Isn't it a fact that the Communist Party today is anti-Semitic?" The witness cooperated: "It would follow that if Russia is anti-Semitic, then the Communist Party here is." (All the teachers summoned by the committee as "Communists" are Jewish.)

She ad-libbed once too much. She had run out of names. (The committee's counsel at one point read off names to her, asked only for a yes or no answer that for many would mean jobs, careers, homes.) The committee had thanked her, then—as a formality observed with all friendly witnesses, asked for her recommendations on legislation. Mrs. Funn had three: FEPC, not compulsory but educational; equal educational facilities for all; the vote for Washington, D.C., residents.

Southern Rep. Frazier (R-Tenn.) asked: "Weren't those the same recommendations you made some years ago in Washington when you were a Communist?"

The inquisition was hard on its friends.

THE SECOND DAY

ON MONDAY the committee had feasted on friendly witnesses; on Tuesday the grilled diet was tougher. (The questioning of GUARDIAN editor Cedric Belfrage is covered in the National Section.)

The morning was given over to five teachers, all named as Communists the day before by Mrs. Funn. Robert Cohen, asst. principal of Junior High School 227, B'klyn, tried to state his belief in "freedom of thought."

Looking pained, committee member Kearney (R-N.Y.) interrupted: "When you speak about freedom of thought, are you talking about the same academic freedom I've been hearing so much about?"

That keynoted the day. When Cohen, asked the $64 question, took his stand on the Fifth Amendment, chairman Velde said: "From your refusal to answer the question I must assume that you are a member of the Communist Party."

MAN VS. GAVEL: David Flacks of P.S. 174, B'klyn, who has been teaching for 26 years, fought to finish his sentences against a gavel-rapping committee.

When he said: "I want to explain. . . ." Rep. Kearney, alarmed, cut in: "It is obvious that the witness is about to make a speech." On the $64 question Flacks began: "I decline to answer on the grounds that the committee has not the right. . . ."

Kearney again interrupted: "That's been gone all over." Rep. Clardy said: "No speech." Velde warned against a "tirade."

Rep. Jackson (R-Calif.) commented: "You have a low opinion of this committee." Flacks asked: "Have you read what Sen. Lehman said about this committee?" Jackson answered: "I have not. It's not at all relevant."

ANTI-SEMITIC MAIL: Flacks had to talk fast and plain. He called the hearing a "circus," the friendly witness a "stool-pigeon," hesitated to give his address because when his wife had appeared at a similar hearing they had been bombarded with anti-Semitic mail.

His wife, Mildred Flacks, dismissed from the school system last year, tried to talk of her work among the children of the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, with insufficient clothes, food, classrooms. Committee counsel Kunzig interrupted in the middle of a sentence: "Are you a member of the Communist Party?" Mrs. Flacks stood on the First, Fifth and Sixth Amendments. Julius Jacobs and his wife Mrs. Florence Jacobs, respectively teaching at Lafayette and Franklin K. Lane High Schools in Brooklyn, were given the same treatment.

The committee knew its function; it took little time with the teachers. Supt. of Schools Jansen would do the rest. Other witnesses needed more skillful handling.

ANTI-STOOL: Mortimer Offner, who has written movie scripts including "The Little Minister," "Quality Street," "Alice Adams," directed and produced TV shows, was asked whether he knew Leo Townsend, an informer who had testified against him. Offner said:

THIS SECTION

The New York Section of the 12-page National Guardian this week is being devoted as a public service almost entirely to coverage of the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in New York. The Natl. Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions ordered several thousand extra copies of this section for distribution in the New York area.

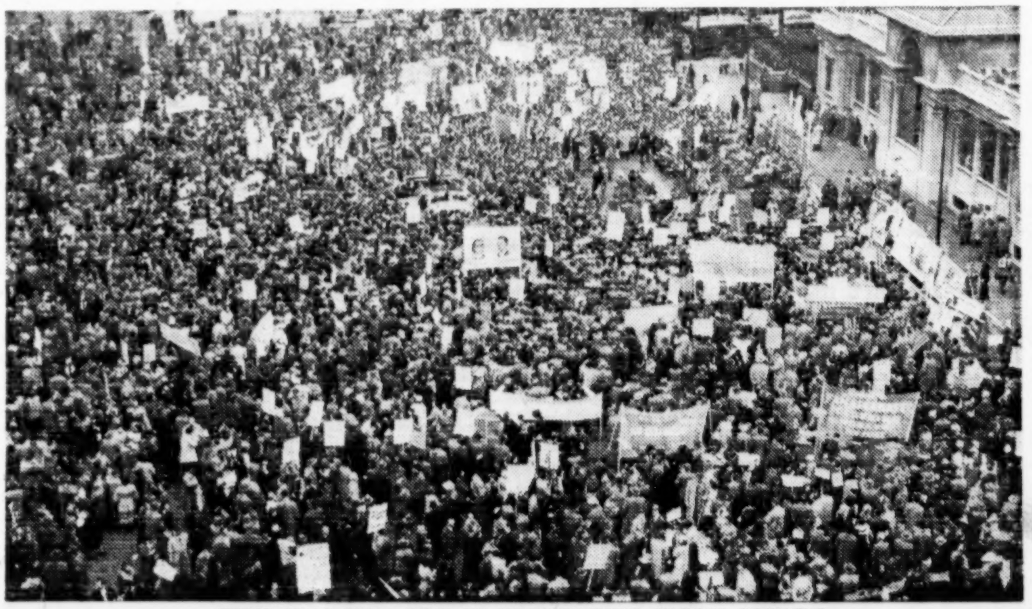
NATIONAL GUARDIAN
17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7
$3 for 52 weeks

"You're referring to the stool-pigeon screen writer who has appeared before this committee. I refuse to answer on grounds that I will not be degraded by association with such a man. I will not testify against myself."

Committee members thought Offner unfair to stool-pigeons. Velde said: "You don't like it when others exercise freedom of speech. Offner said: "I love it. I wish you'd give me some."

In between gavel poundings Offner told the committee: "I hope you're not going to succeed in intimidating the

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)

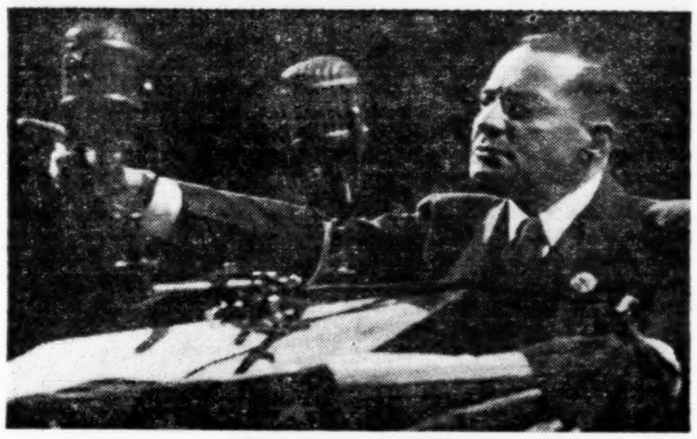


THIS WAS MAY DAY IN NEW YORK'S UNION SQUARE
It was part of a fight-back weekend that preceded Velde's arrival

The fight-back spirit is reborn in New York

NEW Yorkers had scarcely known such a fight-back week-end. On Friday, thousands stood under threatening skies, weathered a threatening press to celebrate May Day. Sunday afternoon many thousands more filled Randall's Island Stadium, sat for hours in chill dampness to rally behind the Rosenbergs. Sunday night more than 1,000 filled Palm Garden in a tumultuous, cheering Hands-Off-the-GUARDIAN stop-the-inquisition meeting.

The city's resistance movement was measured by those who spoke up for the GUARDIAN: ALP's Vito Marcantonio; Dorothy Day, editor of the **Catholic Worker**; Lester Cole of the Hollywood 10 and the Natl. Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; director-actor Elliot Sullivan; Teachers Union's Rose Russell; publisher Angus Cameron (once of Little Brown, now on his own with Albert Kahn in Cameron and Kahn, Inc.), Eslanda Goode Robeson, anthropologist, writer; Carl Marzani, author, unionist, old hand at resistance; Leo Huberman, editor of **Monthly Review.** GUARDIAN'S James Aronson and John T. McManus were chairmen.



VITO MARCANTONIO
No exceptions in the First Amendment

GO HOME AND QUIT: Marcantonio, who has fought the Un-American Activities Committee in and out of Congress, said: "Since Congress cannot legislate in free press or free speech matters, it cannot investigate. . . . The 1st Amendment carries no exceptions. . . . Those who find an exception are traitors to American democracy. . . . Tyranny can't be confined." He brought the audience to its feet when he called on those who "stood by FDR and LaGuardia" to get into the GUARDIAN stop-Velde fight and tell the Un-American Activities Committee to "go back to Washington, resign and go out of business."

Quiet, white-haired Dorothy Day, registering her differences along with her agreements, said: "Not to speak against injustice is to consent to it." She cited the latest example of the suppression of truth when the big press ignored the Vatican's third appeal for the Rosenbergs. She told her audience that she was "happy to join our voices with yours." She opposed all suppression, "democratic, fascist or Marxist." She saw the GUARDIAN attacked by "the ruling classes of this country in their drive toward uniformity of thought."

Leo Huberman agreed, said GUARDIAN's Cedric Belfrage had been called before the inquisition because, in the words of Wendell Phillips, he had roused people to "grapple with the great power of incorporated wealth."

NOW OR NEVER: Angus Cameron announced that he too had been summoned to "another road show" of the inquisition, the Jenner Senate sub-committee. Describing the "level of mysticism and magic" to which U. S. public life had sunk, he urged: "Have a stomach. Don't acquiesce . . . to those who have temporarily suspended democracy." The axiom, better late than never, no longer held, he said, "for too late may now be never."

Rose Russell told how teachers were summoned before the committee "literally with the midnight knock on the door"; recalled that chief inquisitor Velde had said in 1950 that "the basis of all communism is . . . education of the people"; said the inquisition was designed to "make sure that no one again has the temerity to espouse a good cause or oppose an evil one." Like other speakers, she quoted the GUARDIAN, claimed it a necessary publication. She sent this message to the inquisition: "Leave our press alone, leave our children alone. We will write, think, do as we please! Stay out of New York."

Mrs. Robeson said: "We [Negroes] can tell an un-American activity a mile away." She told the GUARDIAN supporters: "We are the majority. They are the blasphemous, evil minority."

"We're not born with courage. We catch it," said Lester Cole, who caught it long ago as one of the Hollywood 10.

SMALL, BUT . . .: Carl Marzani described the sheer bulk of the N. Y. **Times** ("carry it home in a wheel barrow") and the rest of the ponderous press, the blanketing net of radio-TV, and said: "Still they're scared stiff of an 8-page GUARDIAN."

The audience answered others with ovations; they answered Marzani with a collection of almost $2,000.

The rally centered on editor Cedric Belfrage; on the eve of his appearance before the committee he said: "The Constitution means even more to me than to those who inherited it." (He is British-born.) If, he said, "U. S. liberties for which he left his country are torn up, "I shall have been swindled and I shall resent it."

The fight-back quickly drew a response from Velde who before the meeting said Belfrage was "under the delusion" he was a member of the press. Said Belfrage: "I've been around the press a long time (30 yrs.) and it's quite interesting to find it's all a delusion."

Velde probers defied here

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

theatrical world the way you did Hollywood." He nettled many committee members by charging that in all their investigations they had failed to turn up one instance of subversion in any film. Clardy called it a "communist tirade," but others took up the charge, said they had found 500 people in "the communist conspiracy" in Hollywood.

D'USSEAU ON STAND: Playwright Arnaud D'Usseau staggered the committee. Asked what he had written, he described the themes of his "Deep Are the Roots" (racial discrimination) and "Tomorrow the World" (anti-Nazism) in such detail that the committee became acutely uncomfortable, denied it was relevant, insisted on only the names of his plays. D'Usseau talked on calmly. He told how the FBI had wanted the manuscript of "Roots." Counsel Tavenner tried to bring D'Usseau back to familiar committee ground with the $64 question. D'Usseau asked:

"Did you ever see the film called 'The Informer'?"

The gavel banged. Velde said: "No further tirade."

After that, whenever counsel Tavenner asked the question in all its ritual variations, D'Usseau, before standing on the Fifth, said: "I still think 'The Informer' is a good picture."

IN HIS OWN WAY: When questions probed his thoughts, D'Usseau said:

"I think I've made it clear that I'm a writer. When I want to state a position I'll do it in my own context, as a novel, play or poem. . . . As a writer I wouldn't answer you and as a citizen I wouldn't either. It interferes with my right to sign what petitions I like, go to what meetings I like, do what I like."

He offered to debate questions with the Congressmen freely on the radio but not in their arena with their ground rules.

Cong. Scherer seemed fixed on Communist Party anti-Semitism, brought it up with D'Usseau, as he had with many other witnesses. He said many prominent Jews had testified before the committee the Communists were "as anti-Semitic as the Nazi Party ever was." D'Usseau cited Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, who officiated at President Eisenhower's Inauguration, as saying he did not believe there was official anti-Semitism in Russia. Rep. Scherer said: "I haven't heard Rabbi Silver under oath."

LIKE FDR: D'Usseau urged the committee to tackle subversives like the Ku Klux Klan and Gerald L. K. Smith, declared he had "been opposed to the committee since its start when President Roosevelt opposed it, declared: "I think that any writer worth his salt in this country is in dissent."

All he said did not completely discouraged Rep. Doyle, who talked for some time in an effort to win D'Usseau's cooperation. He said he was sure that a "brainy" young man like D'Usseau could not be a Communists now, was probably acting as a "non-comformist."

Sanity will prevail

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Enclosed please find $10 toward your expenses in running America's most wonderful paper. I shall send another as soon as possible, and another subscription, I hope. My most reactionary friends are asking questions these days and should soon be ripe for the GUARDIAN—the antidote to the poison they read in the Hearst-Patterson-Scripps-Howard press.

I'm so proud of you—you have never once flinched from the facts, never feared the truth, never tried to escape reality. Nearly every other publication in our country is edited by insane men who have created a fantasy world; but your sanity, your courage, and the cold hard facts of the world will prevail. History is proving it.

Ruth M. Hannah

When he was through, D'Usseau said: "I respect your position as a Congressman, Mr. Doyle, but you are also a servant of the people, my servant, and you have no right to force your approval upon me."

On that, one of the playwright's finest curtain lines, the committee recessed.

FANCY UN-FREE: They reconvened to have as a nightcap their first friendly witness of the day, Broadway choreographer Jerome Robbins, who designed the dancing in "The king and I." Robbins mournfully testified he had been a Communist from 1943-1947, had left because he discovered that the CP artists were puppets, the party was not sincere about defending minorities, he didn't like the change from a "political association" to a party. He agreed with Scherer's theory about Communist anti-Semitism, complained that he was once asked to lecture on the influence of dialectical materialism in his ballet, "Fancy Free." He closed by submitting seven names to the committee. Cong. Scherer promised he would see "The King and I" that very night.

Among those named by Robbins was one of the adapters of the Broadway hit "Wonderful Town," whose producer had closed the show down for the night of a GUARDIAN benefit, on the ground that the GUARDIAN was politically unacceptable to him. The shut-down had been sparked by **Daily News** columnist Ed Sullivan, in a vicious series of columns.

At press time there was no comment from Ed Sullivan.

THIRD DAY

ON Wednesday the committee was uncertain what it was going to get for breakfast. Actor Lionel Stander had answered the $64 question before the committee in 1940 and before a Grand Jury. For the last two years he had been asking for a chance to appear. He promised to be helpful. Last Wednesday he told how:

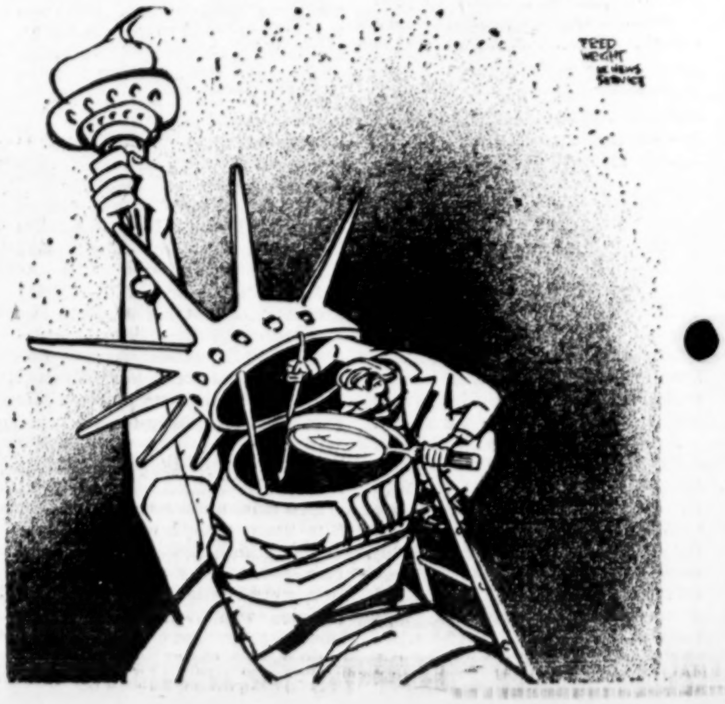
"This committee has been in existence for 15 years and hasn't unearthed one subversive act. I'd like to help. I'd like to expose subversives who have deprived so many of their liberty and their livelihood by blacklisting. I'd like to expose Bundists, anti-Semites. . . ."

Velde's gavel was no match for Stander's deep, angry, persistent voice. When Velde threatened to have him thrown out Stander said: "You don't seem to be interested in subversives."

NO DUPE, NO DOPE: Plainly referring to "friendly" Artie Shaw, Stander said: "I'm not a dupe or a dope or a mope or a moe or a shmoe."

Rep. Clardy added another threat: "Unless you subside . . .

(Continued on Page N. Y. 3)



stop being smart, act like a gentleman . . . I'm going to ask that TV lights be turned on again." (Stander, like many others, had objected to the blazing lights. As in other cases the committee had tried to bargain relief from the lights in exchange for cooperation.)

Committee counsel Tavenner then read testimony of "friendly" witnesses for 25 minutes, seeking to brand Stander a Communist, charging he introduced someone to "Comrade Harry Bridges."

L'ONEL STANDER
Not even a chance

Asked to confirm informers' testimony Stander tried to show contradictions, reminded the committee that one of their "friends," John Leech, had been called a "psychopathic liar" by Judge Landis. He was gaveled all the way. He commented:

"I was asked a 25 minute question and I can't give a two-minute answer." He tried to introduce oaths he had taken previously that he had never been a member of the CP. He said he had tried to answer such allegations in court and found that "your stoolpigeons and psychopathic liars had immunity."

HIS DUTY: Pressed, Stander refused to answer the $64 question and all variations of it on grounds of the First, Fifth and Sixth amendments (right to cross-question). He said it was not only his right but his duty to take that stand when the committee "trespasses on areas forbidden" to it by the Constitution.

He denied he was "hiding" behind any amendment and said: "The only people who hide behind immunity are stoolpigeons." Bitterly he said the committee had tried to make a stand on the Fifth Amendment a proof of guilt, recalled that Jesus Christ had refused to answer Pontius Pilate.

With the committee in commotion and flash bulbs popping, Stander asked: "How would it help this committee to write legislation [legally the only purpose of the inquiry] if I said 'yes'?"

He also asked: "How many times do you want to use my name for a headline?" Committee member Clardy answered grimly: "Just this once."

Chairman Velde ordered Stander continued under subpena, subject to further call. As he left, spectators, though warned several times before, broke into stormy applause while the gavel pounded again and again.

SWEET MUSIC: Song writer Jay Gorney, who discovered Shirley Temple, wrote "Brother Can You Spare A Dime" and music for many Broadway hits, followed Stander. Mild-mannered, he reminisced gently about how his family fled Polish pogroms to free America with its Bill of Rights, told how he had helped his father remember the First Amendment by setting it to music. He began to sing the First in a firm, quiet voice.

Velde stopped him, called it a "musical comedy." Gorney answered: "You have allowed other singers before this committee—singing pigeons—and they sang quite a lot."

Tavenner resumed the formula, read informers' testimony, then asked the $64 questions and Gorney stood fast.

Velde, angrily aware of the spectators' sympathy charged that "friendly" Mrs. Funn had been threatened since her testimony, warned she was under the committee's jurisdiction.

Why Belfrage refused to answer the questions

Following is the full text of a statement by Cedric Belfrage, GUARDIAN Editor, partially made before the Un-American Activities Committee in New York, Tuesday, May 5.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I call your attention to the **Congressional Record** of March 17, 1952, in which you yourself refer to the NATIONAL GUARDIAN as "just another propaganda arm of Soviet Russia." Similar statements about the NATIONAL GUARDIAN have been made in Congress by Rep. Dondero, and Rep. Gross who suggested that the publication **United Nations World** should also be investigated as a possible "Communist front" which might be "using the United Nations organization or vice versa, as a vehicle to propagate internationalism."

It is apparent that you and others in Congress have already prejudged the NATIONAL GUARDIAN as a "subversive publication." It is also apparent from your question in the context of previous statements by you that I have been summoned here for the purpose of abridging the freedom of the press—of destroying the effectiveness of the independent newsweekly NATIONAL GUARDIAN, which would be an abridgement of the freedom of the press protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution.

I have no confidence in this Committee and I believe, on its past record, that whatever answers I might give would be used to crucify me and other innocent persons.

In view of all this I am reluctantly compelled to assert my rights under another amendment to the Constitution—but before I do so, I wish to state my reasons for so doing. The basic purpose of the Fifth Amendment is to protect the innocent. It is this innocence that I seek to protect. I want to state for the record that my assertion of this privilege should not be construed as an admission or a denial of the question you have asked. But to make quite clear my statement that the 5th Amendment, whose guarantees I propose to claim, is intended primarily to protect the innocent, I wish to quote from a prominent lawyer of this city, Mr. Harold H. Corbin, who wrote the following in a letter to the N. Y. **Times** on Dec. 7, 1952. Mr. Corbin wrote:

> Everyone acquainted with criminal practice knows many an innocent person has brought about his own indictment by waiving his constitutional privilege and unwittingly supplying some missing link in a chain of circumstantial evidence tending to connect him with the commission of a crime. The pitfalls and dangers of testifying without immunity are so obscure and so manifold that experienced lawyers do not permit a client to thus testify, however certain they may be of his innocence.
>
> Lawyers, of all men, should know and understand the origin and reason of the constitutional privilege—which was to protect innocent witnesses against the inquisitorial and manifestly unjust methods of interrogating witnesses, the temptation of prosecutors to press, browbeat and entrap them into fatal contradictions. . . . The American colonists . . . carried the rule (against self-incrimination) into the fundamental law of all the states and clothed it with the impregnability of a constitutional enactment. . . . While it lives, and it should live always, let us not misinterpret or discredit those who invoke its protection.

Rejecting in advance all conceivable innuendos against the truth of this honest American statement, I decline to answer your question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

NEW YORK CALENDAR

BARGAINS! 5th Annual Bazaar of Allerton Club American Labor Party, 683 Allerton Av. (Bronx), Thurs., May 7 thru Sun., May 10. Buy your Mother's Day Gifts, Children's clothes, Pottery. Bargains galore. Delicious food every night. Full course Sunday dinner. Door prizes.

YOU WON'T WANT TO MISS the most controversial forum of the season when the Jefferson School of Social Science presents a debate "Humanism and Dialectical Materialism," between Dr. Corliss Lamont, lecturer in Philosophy at Columbia University, and Dr. Howard Selsam, director of the Jefferson School of Social Science, with moderator Cedric Belfrage, editor of NationalGuardian. Sun., May 10, 8:15 p.m., at the Hotel Capitol, 8th Av. & 51st St. Cont: $1.

Village **ALP REGRETS ERROR** in date in last week's ad inviting you to a discussion of the Far East Today. Please come Thurs., MAY 14, 8:30 p.m., 28 Greenwich Av. Guest of honor: Kumar Goshal, of Guardian staff.

FRI., MAY 8, 8:30 P.M.—Opening party of ASP Spring Arts Bazaar, continuing until May 20. Ceramics, prints, books, jewelry, children's clothes, etc. All at bargain prices. Entertainment. Refreshments. Admission Free. Contributions welcomed. At 35 W. 64th St. New York ASP, SU 7-4677.

SUNDAY, MAY 10, 8:30 P.M. Hear popular, understandable presentation on "The Meaning of Einstein" by Irving Adler, nat'l director, ASP, author "Secret of Light," etc., at ASP, 35 W. 64th St. Question period. Contribution: 85c, ASP members 75c, refreshments incl.

ALP Community Center, 220 W. 80th St., presents May 16, 8:30 p.m., **MOVIE & DANCE:** John Steinbeck's "Of Mice and Men." Candle-lit tables, refreshments. Donation: $1.

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Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

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WOMAN SHARE modern 3-rm. apt. West Midtown. Own large room, furnished or unfurnished. Call WA 4-8494, 8-10 a.m., 6-8 p.m.; weekends till noon.

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Events for Children

MAY 16-22

Films

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Sat. Free. KENTUCKY PIONEERS & CHINESE SHADOW PLAY, 11 a.m.; PRINCESS AND THE DRAGON & PACIFIC ISLAND, 2 p.m.; THE DUTCH WAY & NAVAJO CHILDREN, 4 p.m.; MEXICAN CHILDREN, Tues., May 19, 4:30 p.m.; RAILROADING & PUEBLO HERITAGE, Wed., May 20, 3:45 p.m.; NORWEGIAN CHILDREN, Thurs., May 21, 4:30 p.m.; THE MAGIC FOREST, Fri., May 22, 4:30 p.m.

AMER. MUS. OF NATURAL HISTORY, Central Park W. & 79th St. Sat. Free. WORLD TRADE, 2 p.m. HUNTING ANIMALS OF THE PAST & THE STORY OF TIME, Wed., May 20, 4 p.m.

MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, 5th Av. & 103d St. CANADIAN HERITAGE & NEW YORK CALLING, 11 a.m. & 3 p.m. Sat., May 16. Free.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Central Park W. at 77th St. LANDS OF OUR FOREFATHERS series, May 16, 2 p.m. Free.

BROOKLYN MUSEUM, Eastern Parkway & Washington Av. Free. TRAVEL FILMS, Sats., 2 p.m.

Plays

TREASURE ISLAND: Peggy Bridge Marionettes, Leroy the Magician, Joy Holland, accordionist, and community singing. Jan Hus House, 351 E. 74th St., Sat., May 16, 2:30 p.m. 72c.

PIERRE PATALIN: Dance play by Lyric Theatre. Henry St. Playhouse, 466 Grand St. Sat., May 16, 3 p.m. 10c.

MERRY - GO - ROUNDERS: adult repertory company will perform three dance ballets THE ENCHANTED BALLOONS; THE GOOPS; HOLIDAY IN ISRAEL. During intermissions the MAGIC MECHANIC & the RINGMASTER. For children 5-12 yrs. Kaufman Auditorium, YMHA, Lexington Av. & 92d St. Sun., May 17, 3:30 p.m. $1.20 & $1.80.

A VISITOR FROM PLANET X: by the B'klyn Children's Dance Theatre. B'klyn Museum, Eastern Parkway & Washington Av. Sat., May 16, 3 p.m. Free.

Miscellaneous

TULIP FESTIVAL: Dutch fair, dancing and food for sale. Starts 11 a.m. thru the day. Sat., May 16, at St. Mark's Church in the Bowery, 10th St. & 2d Av.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM: B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Sat., May 16. Free. Story Hour: SEVENTEEN NEPHEWS & THE STOWAWAY (4-6 yrs.), 11:30 a.m.; LIVE ANIMAL SHOW, 1:15 p.m.; Science Demonst.: TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH (8-15 yrs.), 2:30 p.m.; Cultural History Demonst.: INVENTIONS, 3:30 p.m.

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Where to Go

Off Broadway Shows

TIME FOR A CHANGE—Special performance, your last chance to see hit satirical revue, new songs, dances, skits, directed by Elliot Sullivan. The Pythian, 135 W. 70th St., Sat., May 9, 8:30 p.m. $1.20, 1.80. Reservations: SU 7-4677.

LA CARRETA, (The Cart)—dramatic comedy in Spanish about a Puerto Rican family that emigrates to N.Y., by Rene Marques, writer and film producer for P.R. Dept. of Community Education. Nuevo Circulo Dramatico, St. Sebastian's Auditorium, 308 E. 24th St. May 7-10, 8:30 p.m. $1.20.

HOBSON'S CHOICE — Lancashire folk drama. Equity Library Theater, Lenox Hill Playhouse, 331 E. 70th St., 8:40 p.m. May 6-10, mat. 3 p.m. Sun., May 10.

THE ALCHEMIST—Ben Jonson's satire on the love of money. Hotel Sutton, 330 E. 56th St., May 12-16, 8:30 p.m. $2.10, 1.80, 1.50. Reservations: PL 1-1700 after 7:30 p.m.

THE CELLAR—by Loften Mitchell, starring Helen Marsh. People's Showcase Theater, 290 Lenox Av. 8:30 p.m. Sun. eves., May 10, 17, 8:30 p.m.

General

DOROTHY PARKER on "Hollywood by one who will never return there." Circle in the Square, 5 Sheridan Sq. Sun., May 10, 2:40 p.m. $1.50, 2, 2.50. OR 5-9437.

CONCERT AND DANCE—honoring Norman & Molly Tallentire, featuring Paul Robeson, Earl Robinson, Laura Duncan, other speakers, entertainers. John T. McManus, chairman. Manhattan Plaza, 66 E. 4th St., Sat., May 9, from 8 p.m. $1.00.

THE MEANING OF EINSTEIN—discussion led by Irving Adler, natl. dir. ASP, former math dept. head, N. Y. City high school, ASP Center, 35 W. 64th St. Sun., May 10, 8:30 p.m. 85c.

A BUNT MIT A STATCHKE — Jewish folk operetta by Jewish Folk Choruses directed by Maurice Rauch; Cantata "Lublin" & other ghetto songs celebrating 10th anniv. Warsaw Ghetto; new Israeli songs. Carnegie Hall, Sat. eve., May 9. Tickets: Jewish Music Alliance, 1 Union Sq. W., WA 4-8311-2. $1.20-$2.40.

DEBATE: HUMANISM & DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM—Dr. Corliss Lamont, author, Columbia lecturer, and Dr. Howard Selsam, author, Jefferson School of Social Science director; moderator, Cedric Belfrage, Guardian editor. What does each philosophy offer? Can they unite in the fight against reactionary philosophy? Hotel Capitol, 8th Av. & 51st St. Sun., May 10, 8:15 p.m. Sponsor: Jefferson School of Social Science. Contribution: $1.

Galleries

ACA, 63 E. 57th St. Artists' favorites, group show.

AAA, 711 5th Av. Thru May 9. **Lily Harmon.**

ARTISTS GALLERY, 851 Lexington Av. **Edith M. Smith**, first show.

BORGENICHT, 61 E. 57th. Thru May 9. **Rubin**, Palestine subjects.

DOWNTOWN GALLERY, 32 E. 51st. Thru May 9. **David Aronson.**

GANSO, 125 E. 57th St. **Alex Redein.**

KOOTZ, 600 Madison Av. **Hans Hofmann**, non-objective.

PASSEDOIT, 121 E. 57th St. **Peter Blanc.**

REHN, 683 5th Av. **Elsie Driggs.**

ROKO, 51 Greenwich Av. **Kate Helsy.**

SALPETER, 42 E. 57th. Thru May 9. **Kallen**, scenes of city life.

STABLE, 924 7th Av. **Biala**, abstracts.

WELLONS, 70 E. 56th St. **Dorothy Deyrup.**

Sholom Aleichem brought to the stage

By Ione Kramer

A THREE-CORNERED view of the world of Sholom Aleichem is being presented in Arnold Perl's English dramatization of the beloved folk humorist's work at the Barbizon Plaza Theater: wise humor, poverty, and a struggle and a lesson.

The first-night audience enjoyed the story of Melamed the teacher and the rabbi who has a learned explanation for everything—including goats—and is highly honored by that famous town of simple souls known as Chelm.

The second play is about Bontsche Schweig, the humble and silent, who has suffered everything and cried out against nothing, and who can imagine no greater blessing in Heaven than a hot roll with butter every morning. It was suspended in the balance between humor and pathos, but achieved neither successfully.

The mother in the third play, **The Gymnasium**, refuses to be silent. She fights so that her son may attend a high school in spite of the Jewish quota. Her husband learns new respect for her; and with a shoemaker who is not a Jew, they learn that it is only together that the poor people can win something good for their sons. Sarah Cunningham's mother, most ably assisted by Morris Carnovsky as father, is warm and sensitive. Ruby Dee is moving as Bontsche's defending angel. The original musical theme by Sergé Hovey and Robert De Cormier deserves special mention.

Transforming Sholom Aleichem's folk-tale intimacy into stage material which communicates that same warmth to an audience is a difficult task. But in this presentation it is accomplished by the author and by director Howard Da Silva. The audience enjoyed it tremendously, and found a rich and rewarding evening.

The World of Sholom Aleichem is being presented nightly at 8:30 at the Barbizon Plaza, Sixth Av. at 58th St., except Mondays, thru May 23. There is a Sunday matinee at 2:30. For reservations write Rachel Productions, 39 W. 67th St. Phone SU 7-1682 or CI 7-7000. Guardian Theatre Party, Thurs., May 14. Call WO 4-3960.

Movie Suggestions

Midtown

FANFAN THE TULIP—(Fr.) satire on war with Gerard Philipe. Fine Arts, 130 E. 58th St.

I BELIEVE IN YOU—(Br.) on juvenile delinquency. Baronet, 3d Av. & 59th St.

MAN OF MUSIC—(Russ.) Life of composed Mikhail Glinka. Stanley, 42d St. & 7th Av.

DON CAMILLO—(It.) Bryant, 42d St., E. of B'way. Thru May 13.

SHANE—Big-screen, worth seeing. Western on homesteaders' struggles, plus stage show. Radio City Music Hall, 50th St. & 6th Av.

MOULIN ROUGE—Capitol, B'way & 51st St.

JUSTICE IS DONE—(Fr.) Trans-Lux, 60th, Madison & 60th.

Special

CLUB CINEMA, 430 6th Av. **A Walk in the Sun**, a study of response of men to combat tensions, based on novel "Salerno Beachhead," with ballads by Millard Lampell and Earl Robinson, who will be guests on May 7 & 9, respectively. May 7-9 from 8:30.

MUS. OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. Shows 3 & 5:30 p.m.

Gloria Swanson in **The Love of Sunya** (1927), thru May 10.

Swanson in **The Trespasser** (1929), May 11-17.

Manhattan

AMERICAN, 236 E. 3d St. **Admiral Nakimov** (Russ., Eisenstein) & **Fabiola** (It.), May 14-15.

ART, 36 E. 8th St. **The Medium & The Winslow Boy**, from May 8.

APOLLO, 223 W. 42d St. **Singing Angels** (Ger.) & **Browning Version**, thru May 13; **Heart of Paris** (Fr., Raimu) & **White Tower**, May 14-20.

BEEKMAN, 2d Av. bet. 65-66. Hepburn in P. Barry's **Holiday & Laura**, thru May 11; **Stairway to Heaven & Seventh Veil**, May 12-15.

BEVERLY, 3d Av. at 50th. **Brandy for the Parson** (Br.) & **Magic Box**, thru May 11.

5TH AV. PLAYHOUSE, 5th Av. & 13th St. **Great Expectations & Dead of Night**, thru May 14.

GREENWICH, Greenwich Av. at 12th St. **The Brave Don't Cry & The Magic Box**, May 13-16.

THALIA, 95th at B'way. **Life Begins Tomorrow & Beauty and the Devil** (both Fr.), thru May 14.

ASP Bazaar

A program of unusual tape recordings will be the featured entertainment at the opening night of the Spring Arts Bazaar of the Natl. Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, Fri., May 8, at the ASP clubrooms, 37 W. 64th St. Bargains in pictures, prints, books, jewelry and ceramics will be offered at the bazaar every night through May 30.

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See & Hear BUSMAN, by Les Pine. WHEN THE ALIENS LEFT, by Hope Foye. HOLD FAST TO YOUR DREAMS, New Earl Robinson ballad. REX CHISEL, DETECTIVE, a Mickey Spilloon mellerdrama, and more satirical sketches, songs and dances, directed by Elliot Sullivan.
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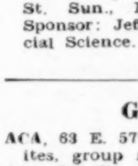

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May Day 1953 round the world

A CBS radio speaker last Friday said proudly that, for the first time since May Day's founding in Chicago over 60 years ago, no May Day parades were being held anywhere in the U. S. The chairman of New York's May Day committee, on the other hand—having been forbidden by the police dept. to parade—congratulated some 25,000 men and women, whose "courage, devotion to labor, and patriotic loyalty to the best traditions of our nation" prevented a blackout of workers' May Day activities by jamming Union Sq.

Chairman Leon Straus (Fur Workers Union) read cables from unions in Latin America, China, France, Germany, India and Italy, where millions observed the day banned in New York as subversive. The nature of the subversiveness was indicated in signs calling for peace by negotiation in Korea, resistance to McCarthyism, reduced taxation, an end to police brutality.

The nearness of movie, press and FBI cameras had no intimidating effect on such platform speakers as novelist Howard Fast, GUARDIAN gen. manager John T. McManus, Paul Robeson, youth leader Joseph Bucholt, Negro union leader Crawford Morgan, Jewish leader Sam Pevzner and Communist Natl. Committee member Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Nor did anybody seem frightened by the repeated threats of ruffians (who easily got through the "cordon" of 1,000 policemen).

TRADITIONAL OBSERVANCE: Outside the U.S., May Day was generally observed.

BERLIN: According to the N. Y. **Times**, E. German troops "marched virtually unarmed" under the "dampening influence of the current Soviet 'peace offensive,'" while speakers "emphasized the possibility of a general East-West settlement."

PARIS: Speeches stressed the need and possibility of peace and of workers' unity in the face of the French govt's drive against labor leaders.

ROME: Communists and anti-Communists of the Left paraded and spoke throughout Italy, attention being concentrated on June 7 general elections.

BELGRADE: Yugoslav military units showed a "substantial amount of U.S. equipment." The number of "Communist and patriotic" slogans was smaller than formerly.

TEL AVIV: The biblical injunction, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," was pledged by 10,000 workers in a May Day pageant; socialism was played down.

MOSCOW: Defense Minister Marshal Bulganin told Red Square paraders that his govt. "will welcome any steps of other states which are really directed at diminishing tension in international situation"; paraders "tried to persuade a number of Americans to join the procession and march through Red Square—a feat that an occasional diplomat has achieved but not in recent years" (**NYT**).

PEKING: Among 500,000 marchers past Mao Tse-tung were industrial and govt. workers, teachers, students, businessmen, writers and artists.

TOKYO: Rallies and parades reflected strong anti-U.S. sentiment. Posters advised: "Go Home, Yankees!" "Abolish the Use of Japanese Bases by Americans!"

MEXICO CITY: All Mexican establishments closed down. Police and armed guards patrolled the city as the traditional celebration went off quietly.

HAVANA: Celebrations were confined to indoor meetings. Outdoors, "commerce and industry," a report said, were paralyzed. All schools were closed.

GUATEMALA: Marchers' banners called for loyalty to President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, demanded that "the UN and Eisenhower accept People's China's peace terms." Plackards invited Yankees to go home.

•

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New Rosenberg proof is heard by 10,000

By Eugene Gordon

THE Supreme Court on May 4 recessed to May 18 without handing down a decision on the third appeal for a new trial in the Rosenberg case. The Court will recess for the summer on June 6.

The day before 10,000 men, women and children poured into New York's Randall's Island Stadium by car, bus, subway and on foot across a winding Triboro Bridge causeway to a giant Rosenberg Clemency Rally.

They turned out despite a fog and drizzle that screened out buildings beyond the stadium. They listened to a new presentation of evidence that Ethel and Julius Rosenberg are victims of a frameup.

Joseph Brainin, chairman of the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, said the committee had been insisting "for two long years" that David Greenglass, chief witness against the Rosenbergs and "a virtual illiterate," could not have made a sketch of the atom bomb "by overhearing transient crumbs of conversation." He said the committtee had documents to prove "that Greenglass lied to the government, to the court, to the public and to his family."

ETHEL JULIA VAN HAAREN

That's this Dutch baby's name. She was named for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

He quoted (but declined now to reveal the source of) a statement about David Greenglass by Greenglass' wife Ruth:

> **As to her husband, she stated that he had a tendency to hysteria. At other times he would become delirious and once when he had the grippe he ran nude through the hallway shrieking of "elephants," "lead pants". . . . She had known him since she was 10 years old. She said that he would say things were so even if they were not. He talked of suicide as if he were a character in the movies, but she didn't think he would do it."**

Further proof, Brainin said, was a letter, in Greenglass' handwriting, published last April 18 in the French anti-Communist paper **Le Combat** and reprinted by the conservative Paris **Le Monde**. "I wish," Brainin said, "you could see this man's handwriting."

The letter quoted Greenglass as saying

- If he didn't remember having said something, he "allowed" the FBI to invent a suitable statement for him.
- He didn't know who sent Harry Gold, a confessed spy, to him (though at his trial later Greenglass said Julius Rosenberg sent Gold);
- He told the FBI of meeting a "stranger" in mid-town Manhattan (at his trial this "stranger" became a "Russian").

Greenglass' memorandum, in his own handwriting according to Brainin, did not mention his sister Ethel Rosenberg; at his trial he described her as a spy. Brainin asked:

"Can these contradictions also be explained by Greenglass' key formula: **'I didn't remember this, but I allowed it in the statement?'** Shall the Rosenbergs face the electric chair on this sort of testimony?"

The rally also heard

- A new statement by Pope Pius XII, (GUARDIAN, Apr. 27) in the official Vatican paper, **Osservatore Romano**, repeating and justifying his intervention in the Rosenberg case.
- A new statement by Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize winner and expert in nuclear fission, citing the GUARDIAN's "new data relative to the console table" (GUARDIAN Apr. 13) and reiterating his request for another trial.
- A thorough analysis of evidence against the Rosenbergs by Stephen Love, professor of law at Northwestern University and former chairman of the character and fitness committee of the Illinois Bar Assn.

The GUARDIAN's general manager, John T. McManus, was introduced by Mrs. Emily Alman, chairman of the rally. He held aloft the console table which the GUARDIAN proved was purchased at Macy's for $21 at the time Julius Rosenberg said he bought it there, and which the government declared was given to Rosenberg "by the Russians" as a gift for services rendered. The table was identified by Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg, Julius' mother, as the only such table that had been in her son's house. But the New York press continued to ignore the table evidence. The N.Y. **Times** reported on the new evidence relating to Greenglass. The **Herald Tribune** ignored it.

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CORRECTION

In Imported Publications & Products ad last week the single copy price of Soviet Literature was noted at 25c. The correct price is 35c.

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PUBLICATIONS

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Deportation threat against Belfrage

(Continued from Page 1)

ernment; held membership or served on exec. boards of the Natl. Conf. for Human Rights, Commonwealth College, United Spanish Aid Comm., People's Inst. of Applied Religion; spoke before the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the Natl. Lawyers Guild, Independent Progressive Party (Cal.); defended the Hollywood Ten and lawyer Harry Sacher of Smith Act trials; signed a petition for clemency for the Rosenbergs; in the GUARDIAN described the 1949 Waldorf-Astoria peace conference as a "brilliant success."

DEPORTATION THREAT: To all questions including the $64 ones (he had been named by writer Martin Berkeley as a CP member in California), Belfrage declined answers under the 5th amendment. Rep. Kearney (R-N. Y.), who assumed the chair after Velde left, called Belfrage "a very consistent witness."

UNAMERICAN

The dreary reading of the dossier and Belfrage's unchanging refrain in reply produced a soporific atmosphere in the courtroom—punctuated by camera flash-bulbs and ominous threats from committee members. Again and again chairman Kearney "directed" Belfrage to answer, hinted at future reprisals. One member, Rep. Clardy (R-Mich.), said Belfrage's refusal "may be more useful at that." Kearney told Belfrage bluntly:

> "I'm going to contact immigration authorities and find out why you are still in this country. I think you're the type to be deported immediately."

In face of the threats Belfrage refused to be drawn into the trap of discussing the GUARDIAN, told committee members: "I suggest you read it. It's on public sale."

"NOT INTERESTED": Clardy's attempt to clear the committee of charges of infringing on press freedom brought this exchange:

> Clardy: "Has any action of this committee caused it (the GUARDIAN) to skip an issue?"
>
> Belfrage: "No, but I think that bringing me here. . . ."
>
> Kearney, banging gavel: "Not interested."

The committee moved on to others. A statement by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., the GUARDIAN's publishers, said in part:

> The summoning of the GUARDIAN's editor [committee's wire said he was "commanded to appear"] is seen by the publishers as a move to persecute and if possible intimidate the editor of an independent newsweekly which consistently opposed the policies of war, repression and plunder of the Eisenhower Administration and the previous "bipartisan" administration of President Truman. Failing—as the committee knows it must—to intimidate the GUARDIAN's editor, it is the committee chairman's declared intent to use these hearings to calumniate and if possible destroy the publication in the eyes of its readers and of the public generally.

ROSENBERG LINK: While Belfrage held the line for a free press in Foley Sq. (and attracted support of thousands, shown in a jammed stop-Velde meeting on the inquisition's eve and in a hearing room filled with friends), N. Y. **Post** editor James Wechsler announced he had turned over to Sen. McCarthy a list of 59 people he knew 20 years ago in the Young Communist League. He said it was his way of keeping straight the issue of a free press between him and McCarthy.

The GUARDIAN's full statement was given to all city papers. No major daily used any part of it; all played down the story, with its plain free-press implications; newscasts featured informers' lists, scarcely mentioned Belfrage. But in France the weekly **Observateur** (4/30) recalled that the GUARDIAN had just broken the "fake table" story in the Rosenberg case, commented:

> The intervention of Mr. Belfrage has evidently not been to the taste of Mr. McCarthy and his friends. In addition, the House Committee on "Un-American Activities" has invited Mr. Belfrage to appear before it May 4. The progressive journalist is in danger of paying dearly for a curiosity capable of saving the lives of the Rosenbergs.

Liberation, also of Paris, said (4/30):

> The director of the progressive weekly NATIONAL GUARDIAN, Cedric Belfrage, has been summoned by the "Un-American Activities Committee." He is charged essentially with his campaigns in favor of the Rosenbergs.

SINGERS & STANDPATTERS: It was too early to note reaction in Britain and elsewhere around the world.

While the assault on the press was the newest note in the inquisition, old tunes were replayed at Foley Sq. with teachers, actors, stage and screen writers on the firing line. At mid-week this was the score: Resisting the committee were teachers Robert Cohen, David and Mildred Flacks, Julius and Florence Jacobs; TV director Mortimer Offner; playwright Arnaud D'Usseau, actor Lionel Stander, composer Jay Gorney, and Belfrage.

Capitulating: Band leader Artie Shaw, who in executive session offered an undisclosed number of "subversive" names; teacher Mrs. Dorothy Funn who turned over 65 names of N. Y. teachers and Washington figures; choreographer Jerome Robbins who offered 7 former friends.

JUDGE LUTHER YOUNGDAHL

There's still a Constitution

Judge throws out 4 Lattimore charges

FOR SOME federal jurists there is still a Constitution. Last week Judge Luther W. Youngdahl, former Republican Governor of Minnesota, threw out four of seven perjury indictments against Owen Lattimore, Far Eastern expert long a target of the McCarrans and McCarthys, and hinted strongly that he might dismiss the remaining three counts when the case comes to trial before him on Oct. 6. He ruled that the four "fatally defective" counts violated both the First and Sixth Amendments to the Constitution.

Major count dismissed charged Lattimore with lying when he testified last year before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, then headed by Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.), that he is not a "sympathizer" or "promoter" of Communist causes. Sen. Joe McCarthy (R-Wisc.) has called him the "top Soviet agent" in the U. S. Judge Youngdahl said the charge is

> ". . . so nebulous and indefinite that a jury would have to indulge in speculation in order to arrive at a verdict. . . . To probe the mind in a situation like this would give rise to nothing more than sheer speculation on the part of the prober.
>
> ". . . It is in conflict with the First Amendment. It restricts the freedom of belief and expression which the [Supreme Court] . . . clearly points out is a limitation upon Congressional inquiry. . . . The First Amendment protects an individual in the expression of ideas though they are repugnant to the orthodox. . . . When public excitement runs high as to alien ideologies, is the time when we must be particularly alert not to impair the ancient landmarks set up in the Bill of Rights. . . . Attempts of the courts to fathom modern political meditations of an accused would be as futile and mischievous as the efforts in the infamous heresy trials of old to fathom religious beliefs. . . . It is true that in England of olden times men were tried for treason for mental indiscretions such as imagining the death of the king. But our Constitution was intended to end such prosecutions."

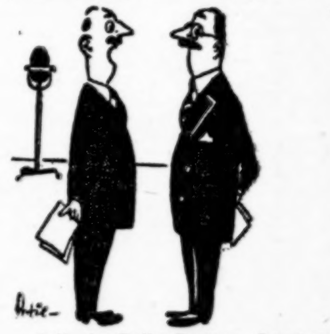
"MISSED THE POINT": On the remaining three counts, the Judge ordered the government to file a full bill of particulars setting forth the "overt acts" upon which it plans to base its prosecution.

Sen. McCarran declined comment and Sen. McCarthy could not be reached. But Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R-Utah), a member of the subcommittee, said the Judge "is entirely missing the point" by talking about the Constitution and free speech:

> "It looks like he has gone off the deep end."

The Washington **Post** commented:

> If Judge Youngdahl's [ruling] stands, it will apparently mean that witnesses in Congressional investigations can refuse to testify as to mere sympathies and beliefs on the ground that such an invasion of their rights is not pertinent to the inquiry.



Artie in Daily Express, London

"I guessed he was a McCarthy man when he asked me if it was animal, vegetable or Un-American."

CALENDAR

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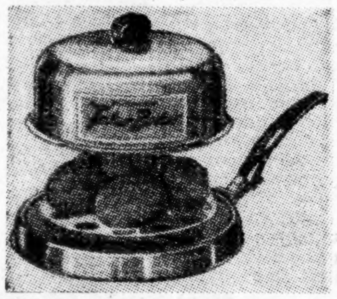

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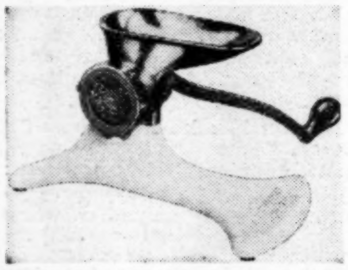

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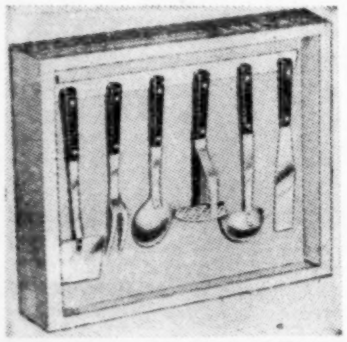

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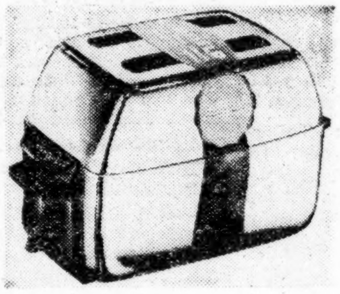

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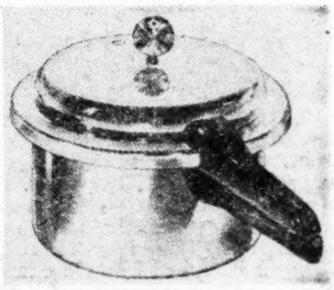

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